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For therapeutic purposes bloodletting is sometimes practiced without any ceremony: 757

Bleeding is done to humans for pain in the arms or for rheumatism. A skilled man is obtained to do it, not necessarily a shaman. He opens the vein on the back of the hand. This is not done on the legs, but just on the arms. . . . . Old Man P. used to cut veins on people when their arms ached. Sometimes he even cut a vein in the head.

Bloodletting is used for fatigue also, but to a limited extent: [828]

Blood is sometimes drawn from the legs in order to relieve fatigue. We use prickly-pear cactus or something with spines to draw the blood. I have done this and got relief quickly. [824]

The bone of a broken arm is set, and splints (flat pieces of sotol wood) are bound on it with buckskin or rawhide strips. 752

Frostbite is treated with pitch and grease: "One of my relatives, a man, froze the bottom of his foot. He took pitch [probably piñon pitch] and grease, put them together, and rubbed them in. It is good for it."

Massage is used for an illness said to be caused by a shift in the position of the intestines: 75 826

When you get hungry or sick, your intestines come up toward your chest. Then whoever is taking care of you should take something warm, rub you with it and push the entrails down. When they go down to their place, take something and tie it around the chest to keep them down. I did this a few days ago. I used my belt. My wife rubbed me first. You can hear the intestines go down.

A buckskin truss which a ruptured man made for himself has been described. 752

For rheumatism, grease and red ocher are mixed, warmed, and tied over the aching spot. A stone or a shell is sometimes heated and pressed on the painful joint. Such a stone or shell may also be pressed to an aching ear or any paining spot. 757

To relieve a toothache: "S.'s mother uses the awl that she makes moccasins with. She gets it hot and puts it in the hole in the tooth."

Even sleepwalking is often dealt with naturalistically: 513 828

When a person has the habit of sleepwalking, they make him sleep with someone. They tie him to this one with a rope. Then he can't get away without waking the other up. I was this way, and they did it with me. They tied me to my brother. One man was this way when we were in Old Mexico. He took a lance

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513 828 and ran over a cliff in his sleep. Another fellow climbed up a tree. They called to him, "What are you doing up there?" Then he woke up.

75 Despite these instances of the nonceremonial care of ailments, a short account which contains a number of elements inspired by ritual practices indicates how arbitrary is any division of the religious and secular treatment of disease:

> You can burn charcoal on your arm or leg to kill pain.[9] You do this when you have a pain all the time. Take wood and burn it to charcoal. Then light a small piece of it again, one about the thickness of the lead in a lead pencil. Blow on it until it burns at one end and moisten the other end or the place on the arm where you are going to put it. Then stick it on. Let it burn out. Don't watch it as it burns. Some do it four times around the place where it hurts.

Here we have the fighting of like by like, the restriction against watching the flame, and the feeling that the procedure should be repeated four times; yet the sufferer does not have to possess a ceremony in order to give himself the treatment.

• 752 The method for curing ivy poisoning and red-ant stings obviously borrows from the psychology of ritual also:

> My people knew about poison ivy and how to recognize it. If I touch poison ivy, the blisters break out, because I am sensitive to it. But perhaps you are not. Then my father and mother will call you over, because, though you touch it, it does not bother you. You don't have to be a shaman or know anything special. You come and rub anything on it might be dirt. You say, "Now this person is just like me. Leave him alone. Go away. I'm watching him." It's the same with the sting of the red ant or any stinging thing.

515 751 757 *Sweat-bathing.*—Another practice that stands midway between therapeutics and ritual is sweat-bathing. Many who have used the sweat bath consider it a means of keeping fit and are little concerned with its ritual extensions. "I used to do it just for a general tonic," explained one informant. Even when the sweat bath is thought of as a cure for deformities, it is to the heat and the massage that the benefits are usually attributed. Said one commentator: "The sweat bath was the custom since the beginning. Maybe it was supposed to be a ceremony, but since then it has been wearing off."

[147] [9] This method is similar to the tests of courage popular with young boys (cf. p. 69).

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contact with the track of a bear, or a tree where a bear has leaned, or bear manure, or if you sleep where a bear has sat down, or if you come in contact with a bear by smell or touch, you can get sick. 953 825

The smell is very important. As soon as it gets in a person through smell, that person is under evil influence. If a person does not come in contact with a bear but is scared by a bear, it causes sickness too. The condition of fright that a man gets in causes his sickness. [828]

A person suffering from bear sickness gets run down. It seems like he is smelling that bear all the time. At night he is always dreaming that he has hardly got away from a bear that is chasing him, or something like that. . . . . Bear sickness often shows up in a deformity, in a crooked arm or leg. [732]

Should the path of a bear be accidently crossed, an attempt is made to deceive the bear about it. "If you have to cross the tracks of a bear, you say, 'It was a year ago.' It is the custom to say that to make it appear that it happened a long time ago, so the evil influence will keep away."

Specific symptoms equated with the characteristics of the bear mark the onset of bear sickness:

When a man is sick from bear, he acts like a bear. First he gets a pain all over his body. Then his mouth is twisted, and he bites. His whole face twists. His body swells.

Long ago at Fort Stanton two men got sick from bear and died. These two men were out. It was snowing. There was a big pine tree. A bear had been there. The two men slept there all night. They got sick from it. Their arms went behind their backs, and they growled like bears. I saw them when they were sick. They tried to bite me.

A long time ago, when I was a child, I was playing in a cave where a bear had lived. Pretty soon I got sick. I got tired, wanted to lie down, and foam came out of my mouth as it does from the mouth of a bear when he is tired. They had a ceremony performed for me, and I got better. The shaman sang, and I got well that same night. [755]

Coyote, wolf, fox, dog.—The coyote, if he is molested, can, at the very least, bring bad luck or an accident: 825 777 752

Our dog ran ahead [after a coyote]. Suddenly the dog doubled his tracks and ran right in front of S.'s horse. The horse went over as S. tried to avoid the dog, and S. fell and hit his head. He didn't come to for a long time. We were far away from anyone, and I didn't have any water. All I could do was sit there and hold his head and fan him with my hat. By and by he came to. That's what the old men say about coyotes; they say that Coyote is bad and that something always happens to you if you go after one.

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Now that the people lead a more settled life and raise stock, there is a real need for dogs, and the feeling against touching them no longer exists. But they are still regarded with some suspicion. "It is not liked if a dog sits on his haunches before you, looking the other way. It's a bad sign. For some reason, dogs are not allowed around the hoop-and-pole game grounds either." [787] [526]

825 752 755 825 601

Snake."—There is, of course, some danger of bites from rattlesnakes, but it is not this alone that is feared. The bite, in fact, is treated ceremonially like any other manifestation of snake sickness. When a snake is accidentally encountered, it is accorded the greatest respect and is referred to by a relationship term:

If a person who does not "know" Snake sees one, he says, "My mother's father, don't bother me! I'm a poor man. Go where I can't see you. Keep out of my path."

You always want to be patient with the snake, and whenever you happen upon one you want to give it good words. Say, "I want to be friends with you, so you must not do anything to hurt me." Whenever you talk to it, say, "My mother's mother, I don't want to see you anywhere I go. You must stay out of my way. You must remain in the ground. There are many people on this earth traveling everywhere."

825 753

It is not surprising that the snake, which sloughs its skin, should be held accountable for serious skin ailments of all kinds:

Snakes have evil influence. The snake has the power to make you sick if you handle him. He causes your skin to peel. The snake is an animal, but at the same time he has a superhatural influence about him that is very bad and very powerful. All snakes are classed the same way.

We are not so much afraid of the snake as we are of the owl or the coyote which we can't fight back. But we don't like to handle snakes or the shed skin of a snake. It causes sores on the inside of the lips, on the hands, and on the skin all over the body. Sometimes blisters break out. It might cause this right away or sometime later.

Swelling appears as a symptom in a specific case of snake sickness:

"The eel is called by the same name as the snake and is classified with the snake.

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deer. I saw a deer and ran to head it off. When I got to the point where I thought the deer would pass, I saw one of the men waving, telling me that the deer had gone back. It was raining a little. I started to go back. I went a long way looking around. It started to rain again. I began to look again. Close by, the lightning struck. I went to the place where it had struck and found the hat. This caused me to believe in my ceremony more than ever.

There is one other function of the lightning shaman, the making of amulets of various kinds to be worn as a protection against lightning and lightning sickness.[23]

Some say Lightning talks to them. When the lightning strikes a place, these people can go to the east of a pine tree that was struck and take a piece of wood. They shape it like this [a crude resemblance to the human figure with some features poorly indicated] and put it on them. They wear it suspended by four strings. The painting is done with a blue mineral and black specular iron ore. If this is made for a person, he won't be hit by lightning, and he won't be frightened by lightning.

Plants.—Occasionally, a plant is personified and becomes a source of ritual. One plant, now much used for wounds, revealed itself in a vision experience to a man who was wounded in battle and fell on it. The plant pushed him upward four times and spoke to him, telling him to chew the root, to rub some of it on the injury, and to put the unused leaves back in the ground. The man obeyed directions, recovered, and was able to reach his home and introduce this remedy.

A plant, as well as an animal, acted as supernatural guardian for a successful raider:

This happened long ago. The enemies used to know many ways to stop you, to make your legs ache so you couldn't get away with horses. My father was down in Mexico with a band. They drove away a good herd of cattle, burros, and horses from the Yaqui.

The Yaqui came on the trail. One of the men of the Yaqui knew a ceremony and was working against the Chiricahua. The Chiricahua had seen cacti thrown on their trail, and now they knew what it was for. They got cramps, their legs hurt, and they couldn't go fast. They were in danger, for the Yaqui were catching up.

For his raiding work my father mixed Wolf and Cactus [a small variety of hedgehog cactus type] together. They asked him to sing and he did. He found

[23] Among the ethnological specimens collected by M. R. Harrington from the Chiricahua Apache at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in 1909 were a number of lightning fetishes.

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Above him he saw different people, whites and Chinese, and others. He knew they had power, a different kind of power. Among his own people he saw people who had the same kind of power he had; they were healers and shamans.

While it is not impossible for a snake ceremony to counteract other ailments, it is most often used to cure snake sickness:

825 755

At Hot Springs there was a woman who was kin to me. She was just a little bit of a woman, but she knew the ceremony of the snake pretty well. During the time we lived at Hot Springs, P., my brother, and I went out to shoot birds with our arrows. We went to a prairie-dog town. My brother, who was older than I, was watching birds, and he ran into a snake. The snake bit him on the kneecap, and he couldn't walk. He fell right there. P. ran to tell our family, and I stayed with him.

As soon as he heard what had happened, my father went to get this woman. They came and carried my brother to camp in a blanket. He sweated and sweated.

Then the old woman came over. She said, "Well, I'll try it." First they had to give her turquoise, and she told my brother to mark her. He marked her foot with a cross of pollen and went around to her shoulders, chest, head, back, and down the other side the way they do. Then she could begin. [431] [788]

She put pollen on the boy and put it to the directions. She put some in his mouth and made a cross of it where he was bitten. Then she sang. She used no drum. . . . . She sang snake songs. The boy lay in front of her. She started in the afternoon and sang until sundown. She sang like this during the day for four days. [788]

After she sang her songs she called on the biggest snake, the most poisonous kind. She said to it, "I want you to take your poison back. Put it back in your heart. I have sung your song and said your prayer and have done just what you told me to do. Now I want you to do what I say and not bother this poor boy." She didn't suck the wound. After calling on the snake she laughed. "The boy will be all right," she said. "Snake hears me."

The swelling went down, and he got well. She told him, "You will never be bitten by a snake again."

During the ceremony she said many things about snakes. She said that Snake has legs, four of them, but that no one except those who know Snake can see them. They are of turquoise, made like a ball, and he rolls along on them. That's why Snake likes turquoise. When a man is sick from Snake, the first thing he must do is give her turquoise. A woman must give her white stone. She said that Snake likes turquoise and pollen. He likes to eat pollen. She said that she could take pollen and put it there and sing, and a snake would come from the grass and eat it. [431]

I saw her perform many ceremonies. Sometimes she would sing and rub saliva on the place where the person was bitten, and the swelling would go down right away. [752]

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When a Chiricahua is cornered and desperate and thinks the end has come, he tears off his shirt and headband. He tears off all his clothes but his loincloth, and he goes right into the thick of it. Sometimes he fights so hard that he gets away.

727

The wounded constitute a major problem of war:

[752]

If anybody is wounded on the warpath, they try to bring him back. But it is often far, and they often die. If they get back, herbs will be used on the wounds, and the shaman will sing. . . . . Cures might be worked on the warpath if there was somebody along who knew how.

727 177

Scalping and the taking of captives.—Scalping is a very recently acquired custom and one for which there is limited enthusiasm. A number of spokesmen flatly denied that scalping is a practice of their people:

The Chiricahua never scalp. They never bother with them. They don't like them. It looks as if it is against their religion.

I don't think scalping is the habit of the Chiricahua, for I have not seen many try it. It looks as though a few saw other Indians do it and tried it.

729 177 648

Retaliation for atrocities visited upon them is the explanation most often given by those who admit that some scalps were taken. The Mexicans are frequently blamed for the development of this form of revenge:

The Mexicans used to take scalps. They started it first—before the Chiricahua. They used to take scalps, including the ears, and sometimes they took the whole head. The Chiricahua would make peace with the Mexicans. Then the Mexicans would give them liquor, get them drunk, take them in their houses, and cut off their heads. Then the war would start again.

Scalping is used as a last resort on a man who has made a great deal of trouble for the Chiricahua. Such a man, when finally caught, would be scalped and "danced on." He was scalped after he was dead. The whole scalp was taken off. In the dance the pole is in the center with the scalp on top, and they dance around it. The scalp is thrown away at the end of the dance. This is used mostly on Mexicans who did awful things against the Chiricahua.

729

While the Mexicans were undoubtedly the special object of Chiricahua hatred during this period, the data indicate that the scalping of members of other groups did sometimes occur. But, in any case, scalping was never carried on extensively: